

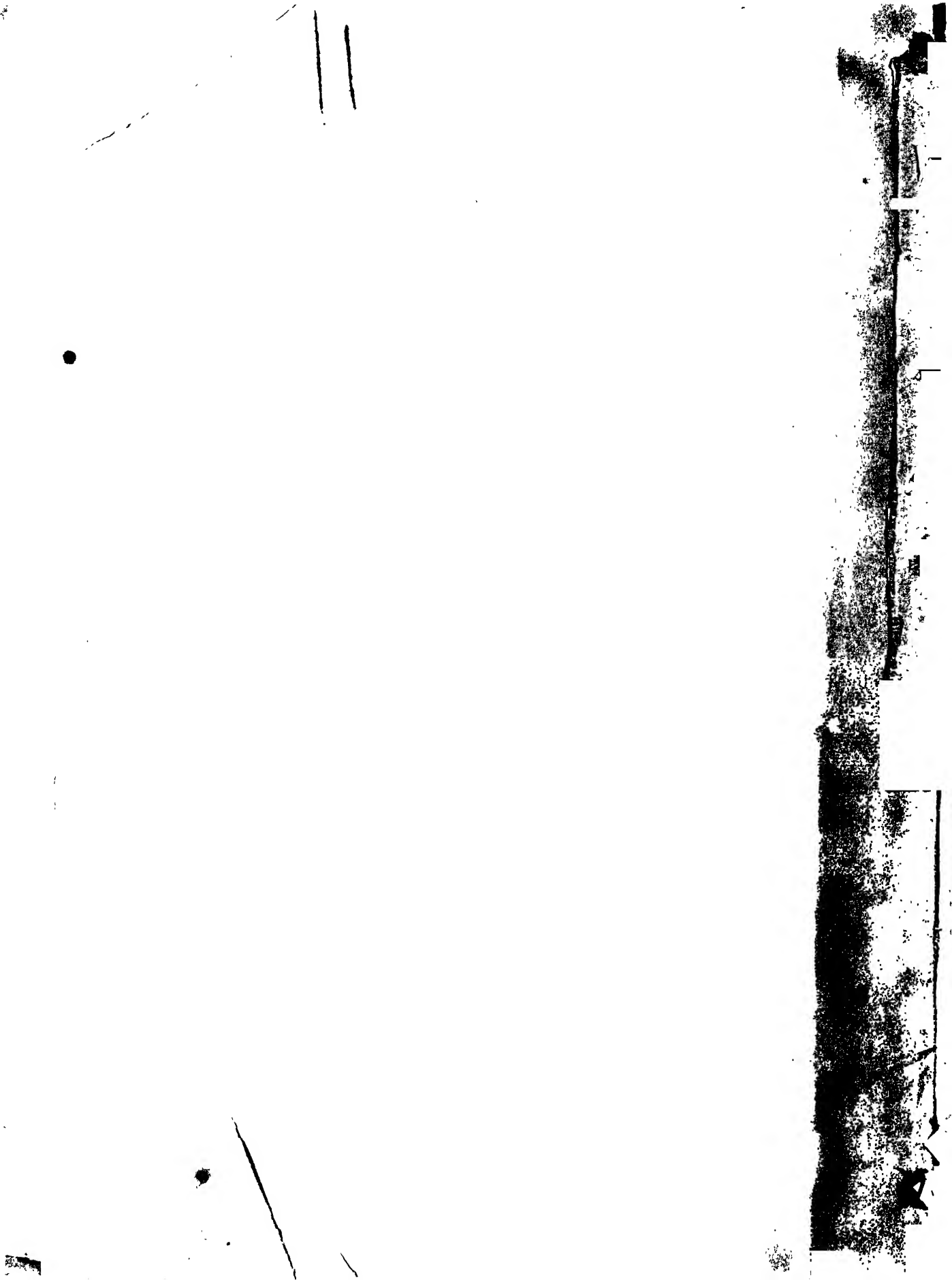
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Dhar & Mandu

A Sketch for the Sight-seer.

BY

MAJOR C. E. LUARD, I.A., M.A. (OXON.)

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INTRODUCTION.

THIS little book was written at the request of H. H. Raja Udaji Rao Ponwar, K.C.S.I., of Dhar for the visitor, not for the student or archæologist, for those who have a sufficient love of architecture and the great works of the past to make the long journey to this out-of-the-way spot. Those who go to study need no guide they will always find the way un-aided. •

Architecture.—No complete examples of Hindu work are met with though the remains of Hindu and Jain temples of the 10th to the 12th century have been freely utilised by the Musalman rulers. These fragments maintain their distinctive style and decorations, save that all forms of gods and goddesses on the pillars have been carefully erased leaving only foliage like traceries. The architecture of the Malwa Sultans belongs to the Pathan school, the Malwa branch having a distinct though less marked individuality than the styles of Jaunpur, Gaur, and Bijapur. Like all mediæval peoples, as soon as circumstances permitted, they commenced erecting places of worship. Being of Turanian stock they had a natural aptitude for building, an aptitude generally lacking in the Semitic family, as witness the Musalman architecture of Arabia and Spain. (At first for want of competent workmen the Sultans have been obliged to employ a style akin to that already existing on the spot and so made use of the remains of Hindu temples in erecting their mosques, but as soon as they felt their feet they swept such adventitious aids aside and gave full play to their individuality as the Jami Masjid, Hindola Mahal and many other buildings at Mandu testify.) The prominent note struck by

these buildings is that of spaciousness combined with simple dignity and, above all, a masculinity entirely lacking in Hindu and Jain edifices, delicate and beautiful as was the work in them. No doubt the red-sandstone may have assisted to some extent in determining the nature of these buildings as the 300 single-block ten foot pillars in the Jami Masjid could scarcely have been hewn from any other material. It will be at once noticed that minarets, an invariable adjunct of Mughal mosques, are nowhere met with : the domes are pointed and plain or only surmounted by a spike, not spheroidal and capped as in later times ; the arches are ogee or pointed and are true arches with no signs of the trabeate Hindu construction, nor is the foliated saracenic arch met with.

In the days of its glory be it remembered, as the blue tiles still clinging here and there to domes and string-course testify, these buildings glowed with colour and must have presented a dazzling spectacle.

If he bears these points in mind the visitor will easily pick out the minor distinguishing feature of this style.

It should be remembered that these ruins were absolutely neglected until 1901-02 during Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty. Under his support of all that related to the great past, and the keen interest of Captain E. Barnes, then administrator of the Dhar State, steps were taken, after years of neglect, to rescue these magnificent remains from decay.

One other matter may be noticed, in case the visitor is interested in such things, and that is the plant life which differs considerably from that of the plains below. Two trees may be especially mentioned as they were evidently loved by Muhammadans and follow Musalman settlements. One is the ugly fat-stemmed *Adansonia Digitata* the "Baobab" of

Livingstone, supposed locally to have been introduced by the Malwa Sultans and known as the "Khorasani Imli" and the other the beautiful dark green 'Khirni' or *Mimusops hexandra*. The fruit of both is used for eating.

Routes.—Dhar is 34 miles by the direct road from Mhow and 30 from Indore. Mandu is 22 miles from Dhar. A pleasant change can be made by taking the road back *via* Gujri down the Ghats but this route is not to be recommended to inexperienced motor-drivers owing to the very severe gradients and sharp turns.

DHAR AND MANDU.

GENERAL HISTORY.

In mediæval days Dhar and Mandu usurped the position of Ujjain and formed the heart of Malwa, that great high-land plateau whose rolling plains with their table-like hills, stretch from just north of the sacred Narbada to the *pathar* of Haraoti and the fortress of Chanderi. The tract during these days lay successively in the hands of two lines of rulers, the Paramara Rajputs (800-1310) and the Pathan Sultans of Malwa (1401-1531).

The Paramaras.—The Paramaras or to give them the modern form of the name Ponwars (Pamar, Puar) are one of the four Agni-Kulas (Fire-Races) whose mythical descent is traced from the sacred fire-pit at Mount Abu¹. Settling first in this region, where the fort of Achalgarh and the town of Chandravati formed their head-quarters, they thence entered Malwa in the ninth century. Their history has been traced in land grants and other records graven in copper or carved on stone and a few literary works, whence the names of twenty-four successive rulers have been culled who reigned from about 800 to 1310. Of these kings, however, only a few are of historical importance. The fourth of this line, Vakpati, is lauded as a dashing warrior but he was perhaps also a man of winning speech, as his name means "Lord of eloquence." He seems to have obtained possession of Ujjain where he must have impressed the hearts of the fair sex, since he is described as "the sun for the eyes of the maidens of Avanti", Avanti being the early name for Ujjain. In the time of his successor Vairasinha

1. J. Tod. *Raj. of than* I. 83.

(914-941) Dhar is first mentioned as the Paramara capital this king being described as the conqueror of Dhar by the sharp edge (*dhara*) of his sword. In 973 A. D. Munjaraja seventh of his line, also called Vakpati II, succeeded. This ruler was not only a mighty warrior but a man of strong literary proclivities, a trait which seems to have become hereditary in this family. He collected all the literary celebrities of the day at his court and was himself the author of a poem. The writer Merutunga says "when the all accomplished Munja died, Sarasvati, the patron goddess of learning, was left destitute." He was a builder also and is credited with having erected many edifices in Dhar while the biggest of the twelve artificial lakes near the city still recalls his activity by its name Munja-Sagar, and the basin near the Jahaz Mahal at Mandu by its name of Munja-talao. He is also said to have erected buildings at Ujjain. He was succeeded by his brother Sindhuraja (995-1010). Next in succession to him was Raja Bhoja I (1010-1055). He was by far the most famous ruler of this line and is a conspicuous figure in the mediæval history of India. No name, save perhaps that of the popular Vikramaditya of Ujjain, has gathered such a wealth of legend and romance around it. Bhoja was nephew to Munja, who educated him and imbued him with his own love of literature. Many stories are extant of Bhoja's precocity. Later Munja became jealous and even conceived the idea of making away with the boy, who, however, escaped by sending his uncle the following rebuke in verse :—

King Mandhata, who was the ornament of the Krita age, is gone. Where is he (Rama) who built a cause-way across the seas and destroyed the ten-headed demon, Ravana, (in the Treta age) ? Other monarchs like Yudhisthira, Oh king ! also went to heaven (in the Dwapara age). The

earth accompanied none of these with her splendour. Yet, doubtless, she will follow thee (to heaven) in this Kali age.

Succeeding at 15, a few years younger than the Mughal Emperor Babar when he commenced his rule, Bhoja soon found his hands full. Events were moving rapidly introducing a new era in Indian history. Between 1013 and 1030 Mahmud of Ghazni made six expeditions into India taking Mathura, Somnath and Kalanjar. Meanwhile Bhoja was engaged in the innumerable feuds by which the Rajput princes assisted so materially to place India at the mercy of the Muhammadan invader. Warfare with the neighbours on his border was incessant. His general Kulachandra took Anhilwara (now Patan) then the capital of the Gujarat ruler Bhimdeo (1022-1063) and sacked the town so completely that "the sacking of Kulachandra" has become proverbial. Later, however, Bhimdeo retaliated, attacked his enemy and captured him but spared his life. Continually absent on campaigns, occasionally a refugee, Bhoja still contrived to achieve a great reputation not only as a patron of letters but as a writer. His patronage and his writings are constantly referred to, often in extravagant terms and with the grossest exaggeration. A list has been compiled including some twenty-three works of which he was the reputed author or in which he collaborated. They deal with such varied subjects, as Astronomy and Divination, Rhetoric, Philosophy, Poetry and Lexicography. At his court were many of the greatest writers of his day. Building was also a hobby of his and he is credited with works in many places, one record says,

He made the world (a play on the word Jagati, meaning either the world or a building site) worthy of its name by covering it all round with temples dedicated to

Kedareshwara, Rameshwara, Somnath, Sundira, Kalanala and Rudra.

When all allowance is made for exaggeration and hyperbole the figure of Bhoja still stands out from the mists of antiquity with more certainty than those of most mediæval rulers. In a reign of forty years he cultivated the arts of peace in spite of the constant turmoil going on around him and has thus preserved his name and reputation when all remembrance of his victories and defeats has long vanished. In the words of an inscription in the temple at Udepur (in Gwalior State)

"He accomplished, ordered, gave, and knew what was not in the power of anybody else ; what other praise can be given to the illustrious Bhoja the poet-king."

After his day misfortune fell on the Paramaras, dissensions arose and two lines of rulers for a time disputed possession while for thirteen years the kingdom was subject to Gujarat.

The last chief of whom we know is Jayasinha Deva of whom we have a record dated 1310.

Malwa was now falling under Musalman dominion and the Paramara power passed away for ever.

The Malwa Sultans.—In 1235 Altamsh (1210-36) seized Ujjain and sacked Bhilsa, thus destroying the two principal towns of Malwa and establishing Musalman domination in this tract, a domination which practically continued unbroken until 1401. In 1398-99 Timur, "the scourge of God" swept into northern India with his ninety-two regiments of a thousand horse each leaving a stricken country behind him after "Lacs of infidels had been despatched to hell". The central control was thus destroyed and in the resulting confusion Amid Shah Daud, better known as Dilawar Khan Ghori, then governor of Malwa, proclaimed his independence in 1401, starting the dynasty

of the Malwa Sultans. Dying in 1405 he was followed by his son Alp Khan, better known as Hoshang Shah, the founder of Hoshangabad in the Central Provinces. He was responsible for the transfer of the capital from Dhar to Mandu. After spending most of his life in fighting with the Gujarat Sultan he died in 1434 and was buried in the fine mausoleum which stands behind the Jami Masjid in that place. His minor son Ghazni Khan was soon murdered by his father-in-law and guardian, who succeeded as Mahmud Khilji (1435-69). Under Mahmud, a capable and energetic ruler, Malwa reached the zenith of her power and comparative peace reigned throughout the tract. His activity was unceasing and it was said of him that his tent became his home and the field of battle his resting place, and yet his administration was marked by the absence of all enmity between Hindus and Muhammadans. He extended his dominions in all directions, seizing places so far apart as Ajmer and Ranthambhor in Rajputana and Elichpur in the Berars. In 1440, at the invitation of certain nobles, he even advanced against Delhi but was driven back. In the same year he attacked Rana Kumbha of Chitor. The fight was clearly indecisive as the Rana erected the famous tower still standing on the fort at Chitor to commemorate the victory while Mahmud also erected a tower at Mandu. Ghyas-ud-din (1469-1501) succeeded but he had undergone such hardships in his father's day that he made over the government to his son Nasir-ud-din and retired to his harem.

Nasir-ud-din (1500-1511) was notorious for his cruelty and is even said to have poisoned his father, an act which roused such indignation in the Emperor Jahangir that when visiting Mandu in 1616 he had this king's remains disinterred and thrown into the Narbada. Nasir-ud-din was

drowned at Kaliadeh near Ujjain by accidentally falling into a tank when drunk. No one daring or caring to rescue such a despicable character.

His second son Azam Humayun, commonly styled Mahmud II (1511-31) succeeded him. The historian says of him that he imagined that kingdoms were ruled by the sword, and he came to grief in trying to carry out his principles. Placing no reliance on his own people he made a Rajput Medini Rai, his minister; later on, distrusting him, he called in Muzaffar Shah the ruler of Gujarat. He was finally taken prisoner by Medini Rai who had joined Rana Sanga of Chitor, but was magnanimously released. This did not deter him from attacking the Rana's successor some years later when he was taken prisoner by the Rana's ally Bahadur Shah of Gujarat and put to death while trying to escape.

The Malwa Sultans minted coins of gold, silver and copper which are found in Mandu and elsewhere.

Malwa thus passed under the Musalman rulers of Gujarat as some four hundred years back it had passed to the Hindu ruler of the same country.

41 In 1535 Humayun attacked Bahadur Shah and drove him out of Malwa. A period of confusion followed the country being split up into numerous petty chiefships. During the days of the Suri dynasty (1540-54) Sher Shah placed Malwa under Shujaat Khan, also known as Shujawal Khan. On his death his son Baz Bahadur, chiefly famous for his musical talent and his romantic attachment to the beautiful and accomplished Rup Mati, attempted to set up an independent kingdom. He was defeated by Akbar in 1562 and Malwa thenceforth became a Mughal province and remained so until the 18th century.

The Marathas.—In 1725 Udaji Rao Ponwar, a Maratha

officer in the service of the Peshwa Baji Rao, received authority to levy dues in Malwa. In 1732 he defeated the Mughal officer and annexed this tract. The Maratha Ponwars claim descent from the earlier Paramaras and thus a curious turn of Fortune's wheel has brought back into the possession of their ancient dominions the descendants of a line of chiefs whose rule had been in abeyance for 700 years.

DHAR.

Historical.—The early name of this town given in inscriptions is Dharanagari “the city of sword-blades”.

The town is an old one and became of importance under Vairasinha II, fifth of the Paramara rulers. Dhar is so intimately linked with their name and history that it has given rise to the popular verse.—

Where the Paramara is there is Dhar

And where Dhar is there is the Paramara

Without Dhar the Paramara is nothing

So without the Paramara is Dhar.

Many allusions are made to Dhar by the mediæval Sanskrit poets.

During the rule of Bhoja Dhar was recognized throughout India as a seat of learning. It suffered the usual vicissitudes of cities in those days.

In 1300 Ala-ud-din is said to have subdued all Malwa as far as Dhar while Malik Kafur, Ala-ud-din's general, halted here in 1310, and the Emperor Muhammad Tughlak in 1344, when a famine was raging. In 1397 Dilawar Khan was appointed governor becoming independent in 1401, his son and successor Hoshang Shah finally moving the capital to Mandu, when Dhar lost most of its importance. During the Mughal domination Akbar stopped at Dhar in 1598 while in 1658 Dara Shikoh's men, if not he himself, held the fort during his quarrel with his father the Emperor Aurangzeb.

The old buildings of importance are the fort, Bhojshala, Kamal Maula, the Lat Masjid and the tomb of Abdulla Shah Changal.

On approaching Dhar from the north the first object that strikes the eye is the massive standstone wall of the

old fort. It is typically Muhammadan in structure and was built in the 14th century in the time of Muhammad Tughlak (1325-51). In Jahangir's day, however, it had evidently been long disused as he remarks in his diary that "when Sultan Muhamad Tughlak was on his way to the conquest of the Deccan he built a cutstone fort on a raised site. Its outline is very elegant but the space inside is empty of buildings."

The only record in it consists of small iron plate on one of the gates with an inscription to the effect that the gate was put up during the governorship of Asir Beg in the 27th year of the reign of Alamgir (Aurangzeb) 1683.

Just within the gate is the tomb of Bandi Chhor, "the releaser of prisoners." One Hazrat Makbul, a soldier, at his mother's request released all the prisoners in the fort. In struggling with the guard he was beheaded and fell where this tomb now is while his body fought its way some 200 yards further north and lies there. Both tombs are now revered as those of a saint.

Two memorable events are connected with the fort. First the birth of Baji Rao II, the last of the Peshwas, who was born, on January 10th, 1774, while his mother Anandi Bai was taking refuge here. The toy well at which he played is still shewn. Secondly its capture by General Stewart in 1857. Siege-guns were brought up to a mound three hundred yards from the wall and a practicable breach being made after a bombardment of six days, on October 30th a strong party entered, to find the place deserted, the enemy having escaped in rear leaving 9 lakhs worth of treasure behind them. The breach is still visible though partly repaired.

The Bhojshala and Kamal Maula.—In a picturesque corner well shaded by tall trees lie these two buildings.

The Bhojshala or Raja Bhoja's school is a mosque made

by the Musalman rulers of Malwa out of the remains of a Hindu temple of the 11th or 12th century. Its popular title is a misnomer derived from the numerous slabs containing rules of Sanskrit Grammar, placed on the floor of the building so as to be trodden under the feet of the "true believers." On the site of this building there was originally a temple and it was in all probability the temple to Sarasvatī which is described in the Sanskrit play of Arjunavarma Paramara's day (1210-16) as "the ornament of the eighty-four squares of Dharanagari." Two slabs were discovered behind the *mihrab* one bearing two *Prakrit* odes of the 11th century (one supposed to have been composed by Raja Bhoja himself) and the other the Sanskrit play mentioned, which praises Arjunvarma. These slabs stand on the north side of the building and are beautiful specimens of the stone-cutter's work.

On two pillars in this building are a curious epitome of Sanskrit inflectional terminations cut to resemble snakes.

In a small enclosure known as Kamal Maula's cemetery near the gate of this building, are four tombs. One is believed to be that of Mahmud Khilji (1435-69) another being that of Shaikh Kamal Maula or Malavi so called from his long residence in Malwa. Over the door is a blue tile inscribed in cufic characters.

The oldest inscription in Dhar was found in this cemetery. It states that Dilawar Khan, then only governor in Malwa under Muhammad Shah repaired the ruined mosques of Dhar in 795 A. H. or 1392 A.D.

Lat Masjid.—The Lat Masjid or pillar-mosque is so called from the great iron pillar lying just outside its gateway. The mosque was erected out of the remains of a temple by Dilawar Khan in 1405. Jahangir calls it the Jami Masjid. Two inscriptions remain, one above the

eastern and a second over the northern door. That on the eastern door proclaims that,

The supporter and helper of the religion of the prophet, Dilawar Khan, who is the chosen one of the most high God and the disciple of that head of a holy order Nasir-ud-din Mahmud, who was a refugee of grandees and a retreat of the saints, built a Jami Masjid in the city of Dhar at a fortunate and auspicious moment on the day of a happy omen. What a beautiful mosque the second Kaaba (i.e., Mecca) of the world !

The date is given as 807 A.H. or 1405 A. D. On the northern gate the inscription states that Amid Shah Daud Ghorī (Dilawar Khan's full name) erected the mosque on 15th Rajjab 807 or 17th January 1405.

Outside lies the " Lat " or pillar of wrought iron whence the mosque derives its name. Its origin or object is not properly known but it has been suggested that it was a Jayastambha or pillar of victory. This the legend given below seems to support. There is on one side a short inscription stating that Akbar on his way to the Deccan

" alighted here with great pomp on the 8th Isfandar Muz in the 44th year of his succession corresponding to 1008 Hijra (15th February 1600 A.D.) This is the work of Daud the sculptor (the text has been) composed by Muhamad Masum Nami Bakri (a well known poet of Akbar's court.) "

Jahangir in his diary notes that this pillar was standing when he saw it and adds that Bahadur Shah of Gujarat ordered it to be removed but in this process it fell and broke in two, one piece measuring 22 ft. and the other 13 ft. Jahangir ordered the big piece to be sent to Agra to be set up as a lamp-post but this was not done.

Some colour is given to the idea that it was a pillar of victory from the following legend.

There is a proverb current now over most of India which is locally connected with this iron pillar. There once lived, it is said, in Dhar city an oil-woman (Telin) of gigantic structure. Her name was Ganga or Gangli Telin. This giantess possessed a pair of scales to match her height and the great bar now lying by the mosque was the beam of her balance the huge stones at its base some of the weights. She often resided at Nalchha, between Dhar and Mandu, and a hill on this road still called Telin-tekri "The oil-woman's hill" was made from the dust shaken out of her gown.

The proverb runs :—

Kahan Raja Bhoja aur Kahan Gangli Telin.

How exalted is Raja Bhoja, and how low is Gangli Telin.

The proverb now-a-days is merely used to express great divergence in position, rank or other qualities.

Behind this there seems, however, to lie a historical fact. In 1042 Bhoja defeated the united forces of Gangayadeva and Jayasinha the latter ruling in Telingana. Their route up from the south would lie along this road and they may well, when confronted by Bhoja, have taken up a position on this hill afterwards known as "Telingana-tekri."

A pithy saying is at once seized on by the people and no better way could be found of expressing admiration for the victors and contempt for the vanquished than the saying.

How exalted is king Bhoja.

How low are his enemies Gangaya and the Telingana.

Traditions vanished, names and deeds were forgotten and the phrase was corrupted but so firmly established that it had to be explained in some way. The transition from Gangaya and Telingana to "Gangi" or "Gangli" and

"Telin" is natural. Gangli is a name of more or less contempt, while a Telin is a low caste woman. Popular ignorance of the past, and a love of the fantastic and improbable veiled the once simple phrase in mystery and the proverb being un-intelligible as applied to the ancient Jayastambha, the question arose who was Gangli Telin, what had the pillar to do with her and why was she compared with Bhoja. The fiction of a giant Telin whose balance beam was the *Lat* and the hill the dust from her dress easily arose in its place."

Mausoleum of Abdulla Shah Changal.—To the south-west of the town on a part of the ancient rampart or *kot*, of which traces are to be seen here and there, stands the Mausoleum of an old saint, Abdulla Shah Changal and beside it the tomb of 40 Muhammadan pilgrims who were massacred here. A tradition existed in the 15th century that Raja Bhoja was converted to Islamism with all his family by this saint and to commemorate this Mahmud Shah Khilji of Malwa in 1445 put up the inscription which still exists. If this refers to Bhoja I (1010-55) it must be pure romance as the Muhammadans had not then reached this part of India at all, but it is quite possible that Bhoja II (1280-1310) may have been obliged to embrace Muhammadanism or at least make a profession of doing so as a political act.

The long inscription runs.

Shaikh Abdulla Changal, may the mercy of God be upon him !

This centre became Muhammadan first by him (and) all the banners of religion were spread.

* Another instance of the corruption of Telingana into Teli is the Teli Mandir on the Gwalior fort. This temple has a roof of the "waggon type" peculiar to Southern India and certainly was on this account originally called the "Telingana Mandir" afterwards corrupted into Teli Mandir.

The infidels made an attack from every wall and each of them rushed with sword and knife. At last they (infidels) wounded those men of religion and after killing them concealed them in a well.

This lion-man came from the centre of religion to this old temple with a large force. He broke the images of the false deities, and turned the idol temple into a mosque.

When Raja Bhoja saw this through wisdom he embraced Islam with the family of all brave warriors.

The Khilji King Mahmud Shah, who is such that by his justice the world has been adorned like paradise, He built afresh this old structure and this house with its enclosure again became anew.

From the Hijra it was 859 (1455 A.D.) that its date was written anew.

Nothing is known as to who Abdulla Shah Chungal was or when he lived.

Brief mention may be made of the many lakes in and round Dhar town, the larger being the Munja-Sagar built by Raja Munja-Vakpati in the 10th century; and also of the modern Kalika Devi temple, picturesquely situated on a small hill above the lotus-shielded waters of a lake, where the family gods of the present rulers are enshrined.

NALCHHA.

On the road to Mandu lies Nalchha. Here Sir John Malcolm, when in political charge of Malwa, used to live from time to time. His house still stands but is in a dilapidated state. In the centre of a small tank near this village is a picturesque stone lamp-post. From this point ruins innumerable of tombs, houses and mosques lead up to the great fort.

MANDU.

Historical.—Mandu also known as Mandogarh and in early days as Mandapdurga must have long been a stronghold of the rulers of Malwa. The mosques on the hill are built with the remains of Hindu and Jain temples of the tenth to the twelfth century which proves Hindu occupation at this period. But until Muhammadan times nothing is known of its history. Ferishta has a tradition as to the building of Mandu by one Deo Bais (a Bais Rajput perhaps) in the fifth century but no historical basis exists for this statement. In 1305 Ain-ul-Mulk, the famous general of Ala-ud-din, was directed to “cleanse that old *gabristan* (cemetery) from the odour of infidelity.” This is a curious remark as it implies Muhammadan occupation previous to this date. The fort was taken by surprise and the ruler Rai Mahlak Deo killed, as the historian quaintly puts it, “before even his household gods were aware of it.” In 1405 Mandu rose to fresh dignity as the capital of the new Musalman kingdom of Malwa. Like all capitals in those days the great fort passed through many vicissitudes constantly changing its owners as one or other prevailed.

Finally Bahadur Shah ruler of Gujarat seized the fort in 1531. On 20th Rajjab 937 A. H. or 9th March 1531 Bahadur Shah commenced his attack with a cannonade lasting several days. His men, who had been told to find which was the most precipitous part of this fort, reported that the rock near the Songarh gate was by far the steepest on which Bahadur Shah exclaimed “Please God by that way I will get into the fort” and on 20th March with loud cries of “Allah, Allah, Bahadur Shah is coming” they burst into the stronghold.

Mahmud of Malwa hearing of the assault hastened to

the spot but "when his eye fell on the umbrella of Bahadur" he turned and fled and was finally captured, and put to death. Three years later, in 1534 Nemesis overtook the conqueror when Humayun entering at the very same spot, drove out Bahadur Shah who only escaped by letting his horses down the walls by ropes and flying to Gujarat.

The Emperor Sher Shah took Malwa in 1545 and placed a garrison of 10,000 horse and 7,000 matchlock men in Mandu. When the Suri dynasty decayed, Baz Bahadur the son of Shujaat Khan, who had been governor of Malwa under Sher Shah, declared himself independent.

In 1561 Adham Khan Koka, Akbar's general, conquered Malwa and Baz Bahadur was driven out. He contrived, however, to regain possession temporarily but was finally defeated in 1562 and Mandu became the head-quarters of the Mandu *Sarkar* in the Subah of Malwa. Akbar visited the fort in 1564 and 1598 and, as his son tells us, destroyed most of the buildings to prevent the place being used as a base by his enemies. In 1585 the first English travellers visited the spot, two merchants Ralph Fitch and John Newberry passing through on their way to Delhi.

Finch and Jourdain, also English merchants, next passed through, the first in March 1610 and the second in January 1611. They travelled up from Akbarpur a ford on the Narbada below Mandu five or six miles east of the present crossing at Khalghat. Both complain of the road "it is a very bad way" says Jourdain, "both steepe and stonye so that it is greate travaile for any beast to go up laden"; both note the fort's ruined character, there being nothing standing "save only tombs and meskites (masjid or mosque)...aloft on the mountaine are some sixteen faire tankes here and there dispersed about the citie."

In 1616 Jahangir stayed here from March to September

being accompanied by Sir Thomas Roe, ambassdor from James I and a clergyman named Terry. Roe mentions the great straits they were in for water, all the available sources being taken up by the big officials. He also remarks that lions were not allowed to be killed by any one but the Emperor. He describes also how while here the Emperor celebrated his birth-day and was as usual weighed against gold and precious stones. Jahangir and these two travellers have each given entertaining accounts of this place. Their journey reads not unlike a scene from the "Faery Queene." Terry tells how "the ascent is very high and steep and the way to us seemed exceedingly long for we were two whole days climbing up the hill with our carriages...In those vast and far extended woods there are lions and tigers and other beasts of prey and many wild elephants. We lay one night in that wood with our carriages and those lions came about us discovering themselves by their roaring, but we keeping a very good fire they came not near enough to hurt either ourselves or our cattle." He notes the extensive ruins and how amidst all the desolation round them the mosques "held up their heads" and also the fact that none of the emperor's people would use such places although they "were marvellously straightened for room." One of those deserted mosques, however, was occupied by him and Sir Thomas Roe. Their mosque was, he says, on the very edge of the Jungle and wild beasts were constantly carrying off sheep and goats "and it was" he says, "wonderful great mercy those furious ravening and hunger-bit creatures did not make their prey sometimes, in the dark and silent nights, while we were sleeping, on some of our bodies, the forepart of our dwelling standing upon pillars and there was nothing in those open distances that had any strength to keep them from us." One night a lion did

come into the court-yard and carried off my Lord ambassador's "little white neat shock" which ran out barking at him. Their joys were added to by the fact that Jahangir had a lion "a very great lion I often saw which went down among the people...as gently as a dog." One of them shot a tiger "a large beast higher than an ordinary greyhound, with curled hair, a long head and sharp short pricked ears having a mouth filled with cruel teeth".

Jahangir in his diary notes that Akbar destroyed gateways and ramparts to prevent the fort being used by his enemies but that he himself while there spent three lakhs in restoring buildings. He also caused a commemorative coin to be struck in 1618 with a special legend on it. *After the conquest of the Deccan he came from Mandu to Gujarat.* In 1623 Prince Khurram (Shah Jahan), as he then was, took refuge here when rebelling against his father and later in 1635, after he became emperor, he stayed here during the rains. In 1696 and again in 1709 Marathas entered Mandu but the tract did not pass permanently to Udaji Ponwar until 1732 after the battle of Tirla.

Jahangir also refers to the sport to be had here he writes that "the watchmen of the chase brought word that they had marked down a lion near the Sagar Lake...when the lion broke cover he attacked and wounded ten or twelve of the Abadis (body guard) and other men of my retinue. In the end I brought him down with three gunshots". Later on four tigers were marked down. "At one in the afternoon" he says, "I started for the place with Nur Jahan Begam. Nur Jahan asked my leave to shoot the tigers with her gun. I said, "Be it so". In a trice she killed these four tigers with six bullets. I had never seen such shooting. To shoot from the back of an elephant from within a closed *howdah* and bring down with six bullets four wild

beasts without giving them an opportunity of moving or springing, is wonderful. In acknowledgment of this capital marksmanship I ordered a thousand *ashrafs* (gold coins, about 4,000 rupees in value) to be scattered over Nur Jahan and granted her a pair of ruby wristlets worth a lakh of rupees."

It may be added that lions are now quite unknown any where in Central India and tigers are practically never seen on the hill though in 1817 they were very numerous even dragging troopers from the saddle.

At the Shab-i-barat which took place here the Emperor had the palace illuminated. "The countless lights with which the palace and buildings were illuminated shining on the lake made the whole surface of the lake appear to be on fire". This refers evidently to the lake at the Jahaz Mahal.

It is interesting to note that in 1820 Sir John Malcolm proposed to make Mandu his summer head-quarters.

The fort has a circuit of nearly 40 miles surrounded by a battlemented wall of Muhammadan design. Within are endless ruins of tombs, mosques and houses some being in a fair state of preservation.

The simplest way of seeing the buildings is to proceed by the bye-road direct to the Hindola Mahal, the Champa Baori, mosque of Dilawar Khan, Jahaz Mahal and Tabela Mahal or guard-room. Then proceed to the furthest point and see Rup Mati and Baz Bahadur's palaces, taking Malik Mughis' mosque and other buildings opposite the Sagar Tal on the way back, completing the survey by viewing the Jami Masjid, tomb of Hoshang Shah and College. This enables one to take the direct road home.

Many other spots deserve a visit but cannot be reached

unless a stay of couple of days or so is made.* The buildings will be described in this order.

Gates.—Of the numerous gates to the fort only three lie in the track of the sight-seer. The first gate passed is the Alamgir gate. This bears an inscription referring to its repair in 1079 A. H or 1668 A. D. by Khan Muhammad Beg Khan. The old paved road leading off to the west of that now followed goes through the "Bhangi" gate, so called from the legend that a sweeper was buried in its foundations, and the picturesque Delhi gate. This last lies near the Hindola Mahal and is a very fine example of Pathan work. The present road passes through the "Gari-darwaza" or carriage gate.

Hindola Mahal.—This building is most striking in its massive simplicity, the great hall suggesting the dining hall of an Oxford college. At one end there originally existed a gallery closed by a pierced stone screen whence the ladies could watch unseen the orgies of their Lords.

Nahar Jhiroka.—North of this building is the "Nahar Jhiroka" so called from the marble framed window in the north wall whence the Sultan was wont to hear petitions and receive his courtiers' salutations.

Champa Baori.—This subterranean well with its "*tah-khanas*" or cool hot weather retreats, lies just behind while near it stand the remains of some *hamams* or baths. These were necessary adjuncts to the comforts of a palace in those days.

[**Dilawar Khan's mosque.**] The mosque of Dilawar Khan is a picturesque building erected from the remains of a Jain temple. [It bears an inscription to the effect that it was built by

* See Appendix A

Nasir-ud-din Dilawar Khan the centre of the law of the Prophet, the refuge of the world, high as the sky in dignity and angel-like appearance.

This was in the Hijri year 808 or 1405 A.D.]

Jahaz Mahal and guard-room.—The Jahaz Mahal or “ship palace” takes its name from the lakes between which it stands. These in early days must have reached up to its walls. All round it lie endless ruins buried in creeping plants. The Taweli Mahal or guard-room, popularly said to have been used by the Amazon retainers of Ghias-ud-din lies on the road towards the great mosque.

Palaces of Baz Bahadur and Rup Mati—Passing for the moment by the tomb of Hoshang Shah and the great mosque, a picturesque road leads out to the edge of the mighty cliff which bounds Malwa on the south. Here perched on the very edge stands the palace of Rupmati, Baz Bahadur's love, his own palace lying just below near the Rewa Kund.

As regards the origin of these buildings nothing much is known. A fragmentary inscription exists on Rupmati's palace conveying now no sense, while on Baz Bahadur's there is a short record noting its erection in the Hijri year 914 or 1508-9 A.D. in the time of Nasir-ud-din. But Baz Bahadur may well have used it as a palace.

The romantic story of Baz Bahadur and Rupmati is known throughout India and forms the theme of many a song. The story runs thus :—Baz Bahadur when hunting on this hill was captivated by the singing of Rupmati the daughter of a Rajput, who belonged to Sarangpur (in Dewas). It is said she long refused to accept his addresses but finally consented to do so if he would bring the Narbada or Rewa river up to the summit of the hill. This he contrived to do with the assistance of the river god, who

bade him seek a spring beneath the roots of a tamarisk. Baz Bahadur discovered the source and imprisoned its waters in the Rewa Kund, the picturesque tank which still stands close to his palace. When Adham Khan Koka entered Malwa in 1562 Baz Bahadur was forced to fly and was finally defeated at Sarangpur, Rupmati's home and birth-place. After this defeat Rupmati, deserted by her lover, was left to the mercy of the conqueror and committed suicide to escape. The historian Khafi Khan gives the following short account of her end. Referring to Adham Khan's defeat of Baz Bahadur he adds "An affecting incident occurred on this occasion. Baz Bahadur had a Hindu mistress who is said to have been one of the most beautiful women ever seen in India. She was as accomplished as she was fair and was celebrated for her verses in the Hindi language. She fell into the hands of Adham Khan on the flight of Baz Bahadur and finding herself unable to resist his importunities and threatened violence, she appointed an hour to receive him, put on her most splendid dress, on which she sprinkled the richest perfumes and lay down on her couch with her mantle drawn over her face. Her attendants thought that she had fallen asleep but on endeavouring to wake her on the arrival of the Khan they found that she had taken poison and was already dead."

Songs attributed to Rupmati are still sung in Malwa. A few lines from one may be given—

*Aur dhan jorta hai, ri mere
To dhan pyare ke prita punji.
Ane ka jatan kar rakho man men
Tu partit taro deka hun :
Triya ka na lage drishta
Apne kar rakhogi kunji :*

*Din din barhe sawayo,
 Durhi ghatan eko gunji ;
 Baz Bahadur ki sneh upar
 Nichha char karungi ji aur dhan.*

Friend ! let others boast their treasure
 Mine's a stock of pure love's pleasure
 Safely cared for every part
 'Neath that trusty lock my heart.
 Safe from other women's peeping
 For the key's in my own keeping.
 Day by day it grows a little
 Never loses e'en a tittle
 But through life will ever go
 With Baz Bahadur, weal or woe !

(*Translation by Sir A. Cunningham.*)

On a clear day the view from Rupmati's palace is magnificent. Below the steep scarp of the Vindhya, sheer down at one's feet, lies the wide, fertile valley of the Narbada, its sacred stream which confers sanctity on every rivulet and lake within thirty miles, winding slowly through it amid fields well stocked with grain. Beyond lies to the south the sister range of the Satpuras, stretching ridge on ridge down to Tapti river, the lofty peak of Bawangaja, sacred to the Jains, standing out conspicuously.

[Mughis-ud-din's Mosque.]—Returning by the same road, near the Sagar-tal lake lies the mosque of "Mughis-ud-din", more correctly that of Humayun Khan, the father of Mahmud Khilji. It bears an inscription on the east gate which states that it was erected on Friday, 4th of Rajjab 835 or 7th March 1432 A. D. by

Masnad-i-Ali Mugith-ud-din-wa-ud-dunya, Ulugh A'zam Humayun, the Khan of seven climes and nine regions (i.e., the whole world !)

It is as usual built from the remains of a Hindu or Jain temple. The east gate was once a fine entrance, and the structure generally is admirable in its arrangement.

Two domed buildings stand near the mosque popularly known as the "Dahi-ka-mahal" and "Dahi-ki-chhoti-bahin-ka-mahal." or the tombs of the nurse and her younger sister. Nothing is known about them.

✓ **[Jami Masjid] and Hoshang Shah's tomb.**—The Jami Masjid is a truly magnificent example of Pathan architecture of simple, un-adorned, massive grandeur. [The inscription on this building shews that it was commenced by Hoshang Shah and completed by Mahmud Khilji. It runs thus:—

"The mosque of exalted construction : out of respect for it.....the angels, like the pigeons in the kaaba are everhovering around it in sacred procession. The founderthe king Hoshang Ghori.....when as the result of events borne by the revolution of the merciless sky the sun of his life had ascended the height of the roof (i.e., was dying) said to Mahmud Khilji.....The administration of the country and bringing its cultivation to perfection and the driving away of all enemies are the things to perform which I give you my parting advice with all correctness and also to complete the Jami Masjid.

✓ The date of completion is given as 858 or 1454 A.D.]

[Hoshang Shah's tomb]—Behind it is the tomb of Hoshang Shah, a great, marble domed mausoleum, thoroughly suited in its dimlit solemnity to be the last resting place of that rough Pathan warrior. [On the left pillar of the door-way there are a few lines cut in the marble which record that on 9th Rajjab II of 1070 Hijra or 14th December 1659.

The humble beggar Lutfullah, an engineer, the son of

Ustad Ahmad, architect of Shah Jahan, Khwaja Sadu Rai, Ustad Sheo Ram and Ustad Hamid came on pilgrimage to this tomb and wrote these few words to commemorate it.]

A Dharamshala built of Hindu remains and in Hindu style runs along the west of the enclosure. The eave is noticeable and markedly Hindu in its form.

[Tomb of Mahmud Khilji]—In front of the mosque stand the ruins of what must once have been the most magnificent tomb on the hill. Now only the foundations remain. It is probable that it was originally the tomb of Mahmud Khilji II. [One inscription has been found in it, which says that—

During the reign of His Majesty.....the shadow of God Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Akbar.....the humble beggar Mahmud Fakir.....son of Sultan Ali Sabzwari was successful in erecting this noble building in the month of Muharram 1014 (May 1605 A.D.)

On the north-east corner are the remains of a circular building which it is conjectured must have been the base of the tower of victory seven storeys high erected by Mahmud in 1443 to commemorate his victory over Rana Kumbha of Chitor. It is mentioned by early travellers. Jourdain says in his journal "In one of these churches there is a very statelie tower of 170 steps to goe upp, built round aboute with many windows curioslie made. This tower hath six storeys and in every storie chambers for men to lodge in, very pleasantlie contrived and built all with greene stone like marbell." Finch gives a similar account but says there were seven stories which agrees with the statements of other writers.

The rooms below this tomb are popularly said to have been a College.

EPILOGUE.

Reader sit apart for a space and let your mind sink back into the past. Erase the long, unlovely, if useful road, and the throbbing engine from your mind, cover the wide open plain, rich fields and steep slopes with heavy forest and people, that forest with herds of elephants and fierce beasts of prey. Picture yourself riding through its gloom on a rough ill-defined track searching ever on either side for wild beasts and even wilder men. Then conjure up the long line of our Dhar and Mandu pilgrims. The dashing and gallant Prince Vairasinha, the conqueror of Ujjain and captivator of its fair maidens. Munja and Bhoja the scholar kings surrounded by all the wit and erudition of India, but ever hastening from the disputations and recitals of the learned to stem the current of invasion returning to their studies when the foe had been repulsed ; so they pass for ever from the scene, these book loving kings, and builders of delicately carved fanes, driven from their land by rude warriors from the north, who raze the delicate structures to the ground ; Dilawar Khan, Hoshang Shah, Mahmud, strong men, mighty fighters living in almost endless turmoil yet seizing on every peaceful moment vouchsafed them to erect the simple, virile buildings which satisfied the artistic cravings of their manly souls.

To the way-farer who had just threaded the mazes of the forest tract how glorious must in this day have been the sight that met his gaze. A town of stately mosques and lofty tombs which hurled back the sun's rays from glistening lapis-lazuli, and emerald coloured domes, a town offering all the luxury and splendour of the time and in its contrast to the weary road just left behind truly deserving its name of Shadiabad "the joyous city".

Their day goes by and in their place stands out for a moment the single figure of that very strong man Sher Shah, who dreaming ever of the restoration of the Afghan supremacy, drove the son of Babar from his newly won throne and yet amid all his toil conciliated the Hindu, introduced revenue and fiscal reforms and trained the officials who passed into Akbar's service and completed the work he founded, and of whom it is recorded "such protection o'ershadowed the world that a cripple was not afraid of a Rustum". Then come "the great Moguls". Akbar, medley of mystic visionary and man of action, inventing new religions and demolishing the walls of Mandu to baulk his rebel subjects; Jahangir "the talented drunkard" and his gifted, wise and kindly wife, the beautiful Nur Jahan, and a vast company of courtiers and retainers, richly caparisoned elephants, prancing steeds, and tame wild beasts; and with him that truly Elizabethan gentleman Sir Thomas Roe, a man we are told "of a pregnant understanding well spoken, learned, industrious and of a comelie personage"; and of stout heart also, who when insulted by an officious minister slung a "case of pistols" at his saddle bow and exclaimed "these are my friends them would I trust"; Edward Terry, Fitch, Finch and Jourdain toiling wearily up the steep forest-covered, lion-haunted hill side, from the great sacred stream below. They pass away to give place to bands of wild horsemen, mounted on small hardy steeds, and carrying enormously long spears, who flash upon the scene, vanish and re-appear like phantoms, till finally they overwhelm constituted authority and a new race settles down to possess the land, yet one linked far back through the dim and distant ages with the scholar kings of seven hundred years ago.

دیدم چندی نشسته در صبح بگلا * بر کنگره مقبره شروان شاه
فریاد کنان زروئی عبرت میگفت * کز آن همه حشمت کجا آن همه جاه

*At dawn I saw an owl seated on the pinnacle of Shir-
wan Shah's tomb plaintively it uttered its complaint where
is all that glory, where all that grandeur gone ?"*

THE END.

A.

OTHER PLACES WHICH MAY BE PROFITABLY VISITED.

Gates.—*Rampol* i.e. Rama's gate. Evidently of considerable age.

Tarapur gate.—This bears two records one stating that Dilawar Khan erected this gate in 809 A.H. or 1405 A.D. in Shadi-abad ("the city of joy"). This name was given to the central part of the fort. The other states that Tahir Muhammad Husain Imad-ud-din, an engineer of the Emperor Akbar repaired the road-way in Muharram 1014 A.H. or May 1605 A.D. The different styles traceable on this gate are interesting.

Songarh gate.—This leads to the curious conical hill forming a sort of keep to the fort. It was here that Bahadur Shah of Gujarat and Humayun successively entered the fort. The existing gate, however, is modern and was erected by Rani Maina Bai of Dhar in the nineteenth century.

Lawani gate.—A stone pillar and some Hindu remains lie near this gate.

Other gates are the *Jahangirpura* and *Bhagwanina*.

Buildings.—*Nilkanth temple.* This was originally a Muhammadan building but has been turned into a temple to Nil-kanth. (Blue throat) one of the names for the god Shiva. It bears an inscription to the effect that

This pleasant building was erected in the time of Akbar in 982 A. H. or 1574 A. D..

While a second records that Akbar halted here in the 44th year of his reign or 1600 A.D.

Hatki Khana. A tomb with four massive pillars supporting the dome, a very unusual feature.

Daria Khan's tomb. This lies on the road from the Jami Masjid to the Sagar Tal.

Chisti Khan's palace. He was a general of Mahmud Khilji.

Badr Shah's School. This lies in the jungle west of the Jahaz Mahal. Some verses exist on a tomb.

Many other unnamed buildings will interest the enthusiast.

B.

LIST OF THE KINGS.

(Only important names are given.)

PARAMARAS.

A line of rulers is known which includes 24 names in the regular line and some collaterals who ruled during a period of dissension. More important are :-

- No. 4 Vakpati - -875-914
- .. 5 Vairsinha - -914-41.
- .. 7 Munja - -973-995.
- .. 9 Bhoja I - 1010-1055.
- .. 23 Bhoja II -1280-1310.
- .. 24 Jaya Sinha - -1310.

SULTANS OF MALWA.

GHORI.

- Dilawar Khan—1401.
- Hoshang Shah—1405.
- Ghazni Khan—1435.

KHILJI

- Mahmud I—1435.
- Ghyas-ud-din—1469.
- Nasir-ud-din—1501.
- Mahmud II—1511.
- (Bahadur Shah annexed Malwa).

MUGHALS.

- Humayun—1530-1555.
- Sher Shah--1540-1554.
- Akbar—1556-1605
- Jahangir—1605-1627.
- Shah Jahan--1627-1658.
- Aurangzeb--1658-1707.

C.

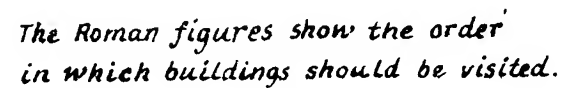
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